Exhibit A

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEMOCRACY NORTH CAROLINA; NORTH CAROLINA BLACK ALLIANCE; LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF NORTH CAROLINA,

Plaintiffs,

-vs-

ALAN HIRSCH, IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS CHAIR OF THE STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; JEFF CARMON, III, IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS SECRETARY OF THE STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS;) STACY EGGERS, IV, IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS MEMBER OF THE STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; KEVIN LEWIS, IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS MEMBER OF THE STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; SIOBHAN O'DUFFY MILLEN, IN HER OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS MEMBER OF THE STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; KAREN BRINSON BELL, IN HER OFFICIAL CAPACITY AS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS,

Defendants.

VIDEOTAPED DEPOSITION

OF

SENATOR WARREN T. DANIEL

(Taken by Plaintiffs)

Raleigh, North Carolina

Wednesday, September 11, 2024

Reported in Stenotype by Lisa A. DeGroat, Registered Professional Reporter Transcript produced by computer-aided transcription

```
1
               Is that what it will be after the next --
         0.
2
    the maps come into -- in the -- sorry. Strike that.
3
               Is that the district that you were elected
4
    under?
5
        Α.
               Yes.
6
         0.
               Okay.
7
        Α.
               But -- yes. I mean, I was elected -- those
8
    are the counties that are in my current district.
9
               Have you ever represented Avery County?
         0.
10
        Α.
               Avery.
11
         Q.
               Avery.
12
        Α.
               Yes.
13
               Okay. Do you remember when that was?
         0.
14
               Let me think. I would say roughly 2019
        Α.
15
    through 2022.
16
               What are your current committee assignments,
         Q.
17
    if any?
18
               So I am cochair of the redistricting
19
    election committee. I am a cochair of the judiciary
20
    committee. I'm a vice chair of the rules committee.
21
    I think I'm a member of the transportation committee.
22
               I am a cochair of the justice and public
23
    safety appropriations committee, and I am on the -- I
24
    think I'm on appropriations based budget.
25
               Those are the ones that I can remember off
                                                            16
```

```
1
                   MS. KLEIN: We'll go off the record.
2
        Thank you.
3
                   THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off record at
4
        11:02 a.m.
5
                   (RECESS FROM 11:02 A.M. TO 11:14 A.M.)
6
                   THE VIDEOGRAPHER: On record at
7
         11:14 a.m.
8
    BY MS. KLEIN:
9
               Senator Daniel, you understand that you're
        0.
    still under oath?
11
        Α.
              Yes.
12
                   MS. KLEIN: Okay. I'd like to show
13
        another document to you, doc 12, and we'll mark
14
        this as Plaintiffs' Exhibit 5.
15
                   (PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 5 WAS MARKED FOR
16
        IDENTIFICATION.)
17
               All right. I'll represent to you that this
        0.
18
    is a document produced by your attorneys in this
19
    matter. And you can tell that because of the Bates
20
    stamping that's on the lower right-hand --
21
        Α.
               Uh-huh.
22
              -- corner. It's an e-mail for Jillian [sic]
        Q.
23
    Empie to Andy Perrigo, within parentheses, "Senator
24
    Warren Daniel." And that's your legislative
25
    assistant; correct?
                                                           54
```

```
1
              That's correct.
        Α.
2
              And it was sent on January 17th, 2023. The
        Q.
3
    subject is, "Bill drafting." And it has an
4
    attachment, "NCEIT Post-Election Analysis 12-2-22."
5
              And in the e-mail Ms. Empie says, "Hello,
6
    Andy. Thank you for your input. NCEIT," which I'll
7
    refer to as NCEIT, and they stand for the
8
    North Carolina Election Integrity Team, "has been
9
    working on a list. I hope it will be shared soon.
10
    The attached document is currently available, which
11
    you may already be aware of, but further work has been
12
    done. Joanne."
13
              Do you recall ever seeing this e-mail?
14
        Α.
              I don't know that I did, other than in
15
    reviewing the discovery materials.
16
              And if we -- if you turn the page to that
        Q.
17
    doc -- and I won't have you look through the whole
18
    thing, but there's -- the attachment is included, and
19
    it's the PowerPoint.
20
              It's titled, "North Carolina Election
21
    Integrity Team Postelection Analysis." And if you'd
22
    just briefly skim through that? Do you recall ever
23
    seeing this attachment?
24
              I would just say that I probably saw it.
        Α.
25
              How do you think it was shared -- if you had
        Q.
                                                           55
```

```
1
    to -- how -- what's the most likely way it was shared
2
    with you?
3
        Α.
               Either -- it would either have been an
4
    e-mail or a hard copy.
5
               So Mr. Perrigo might have printed this out
        Q.
6
    and put it on your desk, for example?
7
               Or it's possible that they could have
        Α.
8
    dropped it off. Sometimes organizations drop things
9
    off.
10
        0.
               And do you recall looking through it at any
11
    point?
12
               I would -- all I can say is I probably
        Α.
13
    skimmed it, but I don't remember when.
14
               Would it likely have been around the time it
        0.
15
    was provided to your office?
16
              Yes.
        Α.
17
               Do you know Ms. Joanne Empie?
        Q.
18
        Α.
               Yes.
19
        Q.
              What -- how do you know her?
20
               She's -- well, she's either my constituent
        Α.
21
    or close to it. I think she lives in the Buncombe
22
    County area. So --
23
        0.
               What have -- what's been the nature of your
24
    communications with her?
25
               She's someone who is -- she's kind of
                                                            56
```

```
1
    passionate about election integrity, and so she
2
    communicates. I guess she's somehow involved with
3
    this group a little bit, and --
4
               How frequently would you say you communicate
        0.
5
    with her?
6
        Α.
               Not very often.
7
               If you had to estimate, once a month or a
        Q.
8
    couple times a year? Can you give an estimation like
9
    that?
10
        Α.
               Probably -- more likely two or three times a
11
    year.
12
               Do you consider her a reliable source of
13
    information about election-related information?
14
               I think she just kind of parrots what the
        Α.
15
    parent organization tells her.
16
               And when you say, "the parent organization,"
        Q.
17
    you mean NCEIT?
18
        Α.
               Uh-huh.
19
        Q.
               NCEIT.
20
               Sorry. Can you give a verbal answer?
21
        Α.
               Yes, uh-huh.
22
               And how would you have communicated with her
        Q.
23
    in the past?
24
               The only thing I remember is she may have
        Α.
25
    come to Raleigh probably in-person. Yeah, I think it
                                                            57
```

of information about election-related issues? Α. I think -- I don't think he misrepresents

anything.

24

25

Page 11 of 53

Filed 05/09/25

Case 1:23-cv-00878-TDS-JEP

```
1
               Two pages away. Under bullet number four it
        0.
2
    says, "Eliminate same-day registration during early
3
    voting."
4
        Α.
               Uh-huh.
5
        Q.
               Do you see that?
6
        Α.
               Yes.
7
               What, if anything, was done in response to
        Q.
8
    your office receiving this information?
9
               The only thing we might have done would be
        Α.
10
    to share it with our pro tem staff.
11
        Q.
               How would you --
12
               Like we did with other materials.
        Α.
13
        0.
               How would you have shared it?
14
               Most likely by e-mail.
        Α.
15
        Q.
               And do you recall -- so the date of this
16
    e-mail is January 17th --
17
        Α.
               Uh-huh.
18
               -- 2023. Do you recall if same-day
        0.
19
    registration issues were on your radar before you
20
    received -- your office received this document?
21
               Well, over the years it's been on the radar
22
    of the General Assembly in prior sessions. It wasn't
23
    really on my radar, and I didn't consider it really a
24
    significant aspect of this bill. So it wasn't
25
    something that I focused much attention on.
```

1	Q. Do you recall speaking with any staff about
2	any of the recommendations made in this PowerPoint
3	that your office received in January?
4	A. So generally I guess what I would say is
5	that when recommendations came in from outside groups,
6	then I let staff filter them. You know, so I would
7	send send these things to staff, ask them to kind
8	of catalog them into categories, and then, you know,
9	make recommendations to us as to which things they
10	thought were something that should go into the bill.
11	Q. Do you remember specific to this
12	presentation whether that process you described as
13	generally occurring happened?
14	A. Well, I have no reason to believe that my
15	practice would have been different, that I would have
16	considered it to go into the pool, I guess.
17	MS. KLEIN: Let's look at another
18	document. We'll go to doc 14. I'll represent
19	that this one, Phil, was also produced by y'all,
20	but for some reason it didn't print with that
21	or it was I think it was produced by sorry.
22	The state board produced it, but for
23	some reason it wasn't printed with that. But we
24	can get we can get you via e-mail the Bates
25	for that, but you definitely have it.

```
1
    correspondence, I don't know if I saw it.
2
        Q.
              Yeah, the correspondence. And then that's
3
    a -- and then if you turn the page, there is an
4
    attachment. And the title says, "North Carolina
5
    Election Integrity Team legislative priorities list."
6
    Do you recall seeing this document?
7
              Not specifically, but I would think that
        Α.
8
    probably I had a copy of it at some point.
9
               Why do you think that?
        0.
10
               Because NCEIT would have wanted all of the,
        Α.
11
    you know, election committee chairs to have a copy and
12
    probably would have either sent it to us or brought --
13
    brought a copy by.
14
              And it's dated February 25th, 2023; correct?
        Q.
15
        Α.
              The document?
16
              The attachment.
        Q.
17
              Yes, uh-huh.
        Α.
18
        0.
              And if you look to the next page, on bullet
19
    number eight, it says, "Early voting and same-day
20
    registration"?
21
        Α.
               Uh-huh.
22
               And then the first line under that says,
        0.
23
    "Reduce early voting duration to ten days." The
24
    second line says, "Make same-day registrants eligible
25
    only for provisional ballots, which can be researched
                                                           74
```

```
1
    and challenged prior to canvass."
2
               And then the third says, "Retain electronic
3
    images of photo ID and address verification documents
4
    used in SDR at local BOE. Make them inspectable as
5
    public records after redactions."
6
               Do you see that?
7
        Α.
               Yes.
8
               And, just for the record, SDR you understand
        0.
9
    to be same-day registration --
10
        Α.
               Yes.
11
               -- correct?
        Q.
12
               Uh-huh.
        Α.
13
               And, BOE, Board of Elections?
        0.
14
        Α.
               Board --
15
        Q.
               Okay. Yes?
16
               Yes.
        Α.
17
               Okay. You said you probably received this.
        Q.
18
    Is this something that you would have passed on to
19
    staff considering an election law bill in -- such --
20
    similar to the processes you've already talked about
21
    that generally occur?
22
               If I got a copy, and if I didn't consider it
23
    redundant to other things they sent, then I probably
24
    would have given it to staff.
25
               Do you recall specifically doing that with
        0.
                                                            75
```

1	this document?
2	A. No.
3	Q. Okay. But you have no reason to think you
4	wouldn't have followed your general process
5	A. No.
6	Q with this document specifically?
7	A. Right.
8	Q. So this that second point, "Make same-day
9	registrants eligible only for provisional ballots,"
10	that is to your recollection, that is the change
11	that was made to same-day registration in the first
12	filed version of Senate Bill 747; correct?
13	A. I think that's correct.
14	Q. Do you recall any earlier information your
15	office received or could have received mentioning that
16	suggested change?
17	A. I don't have a recollection of it.
18	Q. Can you point me to any document that
19	from anybody else that would have requested that
20	change to election law leading up to Senate Bill 747's
21	filing?
22	MR. STRACH: Objection.
23	Go ahead.
24	THE WITNESS: The only other I mean,
25	I think you have I think we've produced some
	76

1	specifically, do you recall ever doing that?
2	A. No.
3	Q. And then he it looks like he's his
4	e-mail says he's from the Electoral Education
5	Foundation. Are you familiar with that organization?
6	A. I really just know Major Dave, and I can't
7	keep track of which group calls themselves what and
8	who is who. So
9	Q. Are you do you interact with anybody else
10	from that organization, to your knowledge?
11	A. I think at one time Hal Weatherman may have
12	been involved before he became a candidate.
13	Q. Do you recall who that is?
14	A. Hal Weatherman.
15	Q. Hal Weatherman. Sorry.
16	All right. In the e-mail you said the
16 17	All right. In the e-mail you said the election chairs just to clarify for the record, you
	-
17	election chairs just to clarify for the record, you
17	election chairs just to clarify for the record, you meant your fellow cochairs on the senate election and
17 18	election chairs just to clarify for the record, you meant your fellow cochairs on the senate election and redistricting committee?
17 18 19	election chairs just to clarify for the record, you meant your fellow cochairs on the senate election and redistricting committee? A. Yeah. I meant just the senate chairs.
17 18 19 20	election chairs just to clarify for the record, you meant your fellow cochairs on the senate election and redistricting committee? A. Yeah. I meant just the senate chairs. Q. And that term election integrity groups,
17 18 19 20 21	election chairs just to clarify for the record, you meant your fellow cochairs on the senate election and redistricting committee? A. Yeah. I meant just the senate chairs. Q. And that term election integrity groups, you're meaning in this e-mail is the same as the

1	Q. But, also, in addition to that, also the
2	discussion we had earlier about what you consider an
3	election integrity group I just don't want to have
4	to rehash that is that discussion that we had
5	earlier
6	A. When recommendations were were sent to
7	us, whether it was by a constituent or a group in,
8	like, a formal form, these these are things we
9	think would help election laws, then I filtered it to
.0	staff, because some of them are redundant.
.1	You know, some of the recommendations are
.2	redundant, and I wanted them to sort of create a list
. 3	that we could then sort of a menu, I guess, so that
4	we could decide what we were going to include in the
.5	bill and what we weren't going to include in the bill.
. 6	Q. So NCEIT would be included in the election
.7	integrity groups you're referring to here?
. 8	A. Yes.
.9	Q. And Jim Womack?
20	A. Yes.
21	MS. KLEIN: Okay. And we'll mark the
22	attachment to this, which we'll also hand over.
23	It's
4	MS. TALERMAN: It's included.
:5	MS. KLEIN: Oh, it's included. Okay.
	86

```
1
    Integrity Project.
2
               And I'll represent that this was produced by
3
    NCEIT as part of their -- as part of this litigation.
4
    So this did not come from your counsel.
5
               So these three groups you see on the cover,
6
    fair to say those are within the umbrella of election
7
    integrity organizations that we've been talking about?
8
               Yes.
        Α.
9
               And do you recognize -- just based on the
        0.
10
    title page, do you recognize this presentation?
11
               It looks similar to the one that was in one
        Α.
12
    of the earlier documents.
13
               Do you recall a meeting -- attending a
        0.
14
    meeting on May 24th, 2023?
15
        Α.
               I would assume that that's the meeting with
16
    Jim Womack.
17
               Can you tell me who else was in that
        Q.
18
    meeting?
19
        Α.
               Well, if it's the same meeting that we
20
    talked about before, it would have been Cleta
21
    Mitchell, Jim Womack, the three elections chairs on
22
    our side and then one or more of the four staff
23
    members that I mentioned, which was Brent Woodcox,
24
    Josh Yost, Brian Fork and Nathan Babcock.
25
        0.
              Anybody from the state board there?
                                                           107
```

```
1
               But it doesn't squarely tell you that
        0.
2
    they're an ineligible voter; correct?
3
               Well, it's -- it's sort of been the age-old
        Α.
4
    mechanism by which all voting systems use to verify
5
    voter eligibility.
6
               All right. Do you -- just going through the
        Q.
7
    rest of this presentation, if you go all of the way to
8
    the page with -- on the lower right-hand corner NCEIT
9
    000024.
10
               This is in a section titled, "Election
11
    integrity legislative recommendations from EIN's Cleta
12
    Mitchell and NCEIT president Jim Womack."
13
               And then on page 24 it says, "Four" --
14
               22 --
        Α.
15
                   MR. STRACH: That's the cover sheet.
16
                   THE WITNESS:
                                 Okay.
17
                   MR. STRACH: And then she's on 24.
18
    BY MS. KLEIN:
19
        0.
               And then on 24 it says, "Four, eliminate
20
    same-day registrations, SDRs, during early voting or
21
    at least require SDRs be issued provisional ballots,
22
    so that addresses can be verified and challenges
23
    permitted prior to canvas."
24
               Do you see that?
25
        Α.
               I do.
                                                           113
```

1-919-424-8242

Document 124-2

114

Page 21 of 53

1	Q. So this language squarely suggests that
2	either eliminates same-day registration or make them
3	all provisional; correct?
4	A. Correct.
5	Q. And this is the suggestion of making all
6	ballots provisional that ended up in the filed
7	first filed version of Senate Bill 747; correct?
8	A. Well, I guess that the concept did. I
9	don't know whether they gave us any language for it or
LO	not.
L1	Q. So after this presentation do you recall any
L2	followup steps that were taken by anyone to get more
L3	information about the same-day registration issues
L 4	raised by the folks giving the presentation?
L5	A. To my knowledge, no one followed up with
L 6	this group.
L7	Q. What about following up with the State Board
L8	of Elections?
L9	A. I believe they were involved later in the
20	process after the bill had gone to the house.
21	Q. But they were not involved before the bill
22	was filed; correct?
23	A. They may have given us feedback, but I don't
24	remember.
25	Q. You

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Case 1:23-cv-00878-TDS-JEP Document 124-2

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1
               Thinking -- you know, talking with central
2
    staff about, you know, something that -- things that
3
    would pass legal scrutiny, things that would have
4
    practical -- practical improvements of the election
5
    system but wouldn't be too burdensome for the Board of
6
    Elections.
7
                  MS. KLEIN:
                              All right. One more doc,
8
        and then we can break for lunch.
                                           Document 23,
9
        which we'll mark as Plaintiffs' Exhibit 12.
10
                   (PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 12 WAS MARKED FOR
11
        IDENTIFICATION.)
12
    BY MS. KLEIN:
13
               So this is a followup e-mail from Jim
        0.
14
    Womack, dated May 24th, 2023 at 10:37 p.m., to Brent
15
    Woodcox. So it was produced by your counsel in this
16
    matter.
17
              And in the first paragraph Mr. Woodcox --
18
    Womack -- excuse me -- says, "Thanks again for
19
    participating in today's roundtable on election law.
20
    Cleta, Jay and I stand ready to assist with proposed
21
    language and statutory citations wherever you might
22
    need our assistance."
23
              And then he lists again the suggestions.
24
    And number five is, "Same-day registrants may only
25
    vote provisionally, and the ballot cannot be counted
                                                          117
```

```
1
    until identity, eligibility and address are verified
2
    prior to canvas."
3
        Α.
               Uh-huh.
4
               To your knowledge did anybody followup on
         Q.
5
    Mr. Womack's offer of providing proposed language?
6
               Not that I know about.
         Α.
7
               What about any other followup from anybody
         Q.
8
    from senate staff, to your knowledge?
9
               Not that I'm aware of.
        Α.
10
         0.
               Okay. Did -- and you didn't?
11
        Α.
               No, uh-uh.
12
               Okay. Did you forward this -- these
         Q.
13
    suggestions to Major Goetze for his thoughts?
14
               I don't -- I'm not sure I was copied on
15
    this.
            It's --
16
               Did you -- do you remember otherwise
         Q.
17
    discussing these ideas with Major Goetze?
18
               No. I assume he was probably aware of them,
19
    because they kind of work in the same space, but --
20
               But you don't recall personally talking with
         0.
21
    him about any of it?
22
         Α.
               No.
23
                   MS. KLEIN: Okay. We can pause there
24
         for lunch. Go off the record.
25
                   THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off record at
                                                           118
```

```
1
    were responsible for?
2
                    We really divided the work more
         Α.
               No.
3
    between, like, you know, Daniel, you're responsible
4
    for this bill, and, Newton, you're responsible for
5
    this bill.
6
         0.
               So, for example, like, I noticed that in the
7
    public records you did most of the introductions for
8
    Senate Bill 747. Does that mean that you were
9
    responsible for Senate Bill 747?
10
               I was the bill handler.
        Α.
11
         0.
               You were the bill handler. Does that mean
12
    that you were leading the bill drafting as well?
13
               I would say we were equal partners in the --
         Α.
14
    the three chairs.
15
         Q.
               But you --
16
               But I was -- the bill handler would be
         Α.
17
    making more on top of the intricate details than the
18
    others.
19
         0.
               Okay. And -- well, you didn't split it up
20
    by area?
21
        Α.
               No.
22
               Everyone just had the opportunity to weigh
         0.
23
    in on the filed draft?
24
        Α.
               Yes.
25
               Okay. So overall -- without disclosing
         0.
                                                           125
```

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

that was highlighted in the first sentence?

- Α. Because it was one of the most -- really same-day registration was just sort of -- it was just sort of a -- it wasn't one of the major features of the bill in my point of view, but same-day absentee ballot deadline was.
- How did that same-day absentee ballot 0. deadline provision increase confidence in elections?
- Well, it -- first of all, it's the -- it's Α. the most common practice among a majority of states in the country. And I think after what we kind of saw in the last -- one of the last elections, where the Board of Elections extended it nine days until -- to nine days, that it just made sense for us to say, we're just going to cut it off, so that all ballots are in at the same time. And they can start counting all -you don't have to wait three more days to know what's going to come in.
- So you mean that having to wait extra time to count ballots decreases confidence in elections, so making the cutoff deadline as election day increases the confidence; is that --
- Α. Well, election day should be election day. Yes.
 - Okay. Making same-day registrations 0.

135

```
1
         just be that -- you could have 500 less
2
        provisional ballots from other sources in any
3
        given year, and if -- you know, so if you had 500
 4
        and 500, it would be a wash.
5
    BY MS. KLEIN:
6
        Ο.
               Yeah, but, assuming everything else equal,
7
    making all same-day registration ballots provisional
8
    increases the number of provisional ballots compared
9
    to if that -- if they were not provisional?
10
               Like I said, it could.
        Α.
11
                   MR. STRACH: Objection.
12
                   (COURT REPORTER'S CLARIFICATION.)
13
                   THE WITNESS: It could.
14
    BY MS. KLEIN:
15
        0.
               So did you -- did you include this provision
16
    to encourage people not to use same-day registration
17
    anymore?
18
                   MR. STRACH: Objection.
19
                   THE WITNESS: I think we included it --
20
         I'd say I included it, because we thought that it
21
        would give more confidence to the public that
22
        people who were waiting until the very last
23
        minute, even as late as Saturday before the
24
         election to register and vote, that their vote
25
        would only be counted if they were a legitimate
                                                          139
```

```
1
        voter.
2
    BY MS. KLEIN:
3
        0.
               Is --
4
               It's just as important in my view that a
5
    person who is eligible to vote is -- knows that
6
    they're allowed to vote, as it is that when you and I
7
    vote we know that our vote is not going to be canceled
8
    out by somebody who is not eligible to vote.
9
               When you formed that -- and that -- and that
        0.
10
    was your opinion when you had filed this bill on
11
    June 1st; correct?
12
               Well, I agreed with the provision, but,
        Α.
13
    again, I don't -- I didn't see it as a major -- the
14
    same -- I didn't see the same-day registration
15
    provision as a major piece of the bill, nor was it
16
    really a topic of a lot of discussion between the two
17
    parties. It wasn't one of the things that was really
18
    highlighted.
19
        0.
               What evidence at that time did you have that
20
    individuals using same-day registration, that any of
21
    them were ineligible to vote?
22
                   MR. STRACH: Objection.
23
                   THE WITNESS: I'm not sure that that
24
        was the point. The point is that it just made
25
        common sense that if we're going to have a
                                                          140
```

1 process where we allow people to register three 2 days before an election that there should be a 3 better safeguard than there currently was. 4 BY MS. KLEIN: 5 So the point was not to have evidence that 0. 6 that was needed. It was to -- I didn't quite 7 understand. 8 The point wasn't to have evidence that that was needed? The point was to tell the public that 10 that would be done? 11 Sometimes bills are -- they're not 12 necessarily evidence driven as much as common sense 13 driven. 14 Okay. Q. 15 Α. And I would say that that provision was more 16 common sense. 17 And is -- is adding a new statutory 0. 18 requirement the only way to address issues of public 19 confidence regarding a certain part of election 20 administration? 21 MR. STRACH: Objection. 22 Go ahead. 23 THE WITNESS: No. I mean, one way 24 would be to get the Board of Elections to comply 25 more with the spirit of the law than trying to 141

```
1
    provision was not what we -- what I considered a major
    feature of the bill. So it wasn't something that drew
3
    a lot of our focus.
 4
               So is the answer to my question, no?
        0.
5
        Α.
               Can you restate the question?
6
               So were -- was there a reason that you
        0.
7
    were -- like, were you not comfortable with the
8
    documentary proof of residence that was already being
    provided by same-day registrants?
10
        Α.
               I think I would just say that, you know, I
11
    think all of the election integrity groups, this was a
12
    concern of theirs, same-day registrations. And so we
13
    felt like if it was a concern, then it made it into
14
    the bill.
15
        0.
               So you were being responsive to their
16
    concerns by including this provision in there?
17
               Yeah, to theirs and other constituents.
        Α.
18
    Just individual constituents.
19
               Fair to say you just didn't think some of
        Q.
20
    those details through, because that wasn't a focus of
21
    this bill for you?
22
                   MR. STRACH: Objection.
23
                   THE WITNESS: I would say that in --
24
         in -- just in bills in general, you know,
25
         legislature is a policy-making body.
```

1 sometimes we get focused on what we think is the 2 right policy, and we don't necessarily have all 3 of the background on what the logistical 4 implications would be. 5 BY MS. KLEIN: 6 And -- so that general principal, is that Q. 7 applicable to the same-day registration provisions in 8 Senate Bill 747? 9 Α. I would -- I don't think we probably thought 10 about the -- the point they're raising. You know, it 11 doesn't mean I think anything less of the provision, 12 because, you know, sometimes you just have to tell 13 agencies, you know, well, this is how the state -- the 14 legislature wants it to be. Not how the bureaucracy 15 desires it to be. 16 MS. KLEIN: All right. We can move on 17 to the next document. This is doc 28, and we'll 18 mark it as Plaintiffs' Exhibit 17. 19 (PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 17 WAS MARKED FOR 20 IDENTIFICATION.) 21 BY MS. KLEIN: 22 So this is an e-mail produced by your 23 attorneys. It's from Robert Waldrop, and it's sent to 24 several legislators, including yourself. And the 25 subject is, "Comments on proposed new voting laws from 149

1 an election worker." 2 And Mr. Waldrop says, "I'm writing to urge 3 you not to proceed with several parts of bill, which 4 is now being worked on and which you plan to 5 introduce. Please hear me out." 6 Are you familiar with Mr. Waldrop? 7 Α. No. No, I'm not. 8 Had you spoken with any election workers 0. 9 about Senate Bill 747 before it was filed? 10 I don't believe so. Α. 11 Q. In bullet number two he says, "You want to 12 propose same-day registrations to use a provisional 13 ballot, rather than same-day registration standard 14 ballot." 15 And he writes, "What this will require is a 16 lot more effort than you realize. Provisional ballots 17 require much greater amount of time by election 18 workers, BOE members and BOE staff." 19 "When registering and issuing ballots to new 20 voters, we carefully apply the law and scrutinize the 21 evidence presented. The system works well as is." 22 Do you recall receiving this information? 23 Α. No. I've reviewed it in the discovery packet, but I don't remember seeing it before. 25 0. Do you -- you don't recall seeing it.

```
1
               So did you recognize that first voice as
        0.
2
    Senator Mayfield again?
3
        Α.
               Yes.
4
        Q.
               And you took the response; correct?
5
        Α.
               Yes.
6
               So in responding to Senator Mayfield's
        Q.
7
    question you said, "I would think that most college
8
    freshman probably would remain registered in their
9
    home of residence and would vote absentee there."
10
               What was the basis for that assumption?
11
        Α.
               Just all of the people that I -- probably
12
    the people that I'm aware of that had college students
13
    that I know, that would have been what they did.
14
               Can you --
        Q.
15
        Α.
               Including mine.
16
               Can you point me to any study or data or
        Q.
17
    other non-anecdotal set of information that would
18
    support the basis for your assumption there?
19
        Α.
               No.
20
               And later you said, "When I was in college,
21
    I did have a credit card, which was tied to a P.O. box
22
    that was on campus. So I think that would qualify as
23
    a HAVA document."
24
               Is it your understanding that a P.O. box is
25
    the same as an address for a residence?
                                                           174
```

Filed 05/09/25

```
1
                    It can be used as a mailing address,
               No.
2
    but not as a residence.
3
               So if you're trying to show a HAVA document
        Q.
4
    for a residence, a P.O. box actually wouldn't qualify
5
    for that; correct?
6
               I think that's probably correct.
7
               Did you -- you know, after these -- in both
        Q.
8
    days of committees these issues related to students in
    this provision. Do you recall as any part of followup
10
    to this, you know, asking from anyone for information
11
    about, you know, how many eligible voters in North
12
    Carolina would be adversely impacted by, you know, the
13
    restrictions as they were drafted in the version of
14
    the bill being considered?
15
               I didn't ask, and I'm not sure there would
16
    be any way to know.
17
               Did you try?
        Q.
18
        Α.
               No.
19
                   MS. KLEIN: We can go to the next
20
        document, and this will be doc 66. And we'll --
21
        it'll be titled Plaintiffs' Exhibit 26.
22
                   (PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 26 WAS MARKED FOR
23
         IDENTIFICATION.)
    BY MS. KLEIN:
25
        0.
               And so you'll see this is an e-mail --
                                                          175
```

```
1
        for me personally, that I don't put a lot of
2
        emphasis on e-mails that I get from out-of-state
3
        organizations that don't even identify where
4
        their address is. I mean, this one has no
5
        address that I can see.
6
    BY MS. KLEIN:
7
               So is it your recollection that you didn't
        0.
8
    read this letter?
9
        Α.
               I don't know one way or the other.
10
        0.
               On the second -- the last page of the
11
    exhibit, with Bates 3263, at the top of the first full
12
    paragraph it said, "This will have an especially
13
    adverse effect on college student voters in
14
    North Carolina." And the topic of the letter is,
15
    "Senate Bill 747, same day voter registration
16
    provisions."
17
               Do you recall if any effort was made to get
18
    more information on the impact of the bill at that
19
    time on student voters?
20
               It sounds like, whether I read this or not,
        Α.
21
    Senator Mayfield did and conveyed their sentiments to
22
    me.
23
               But do you recall if you or any of your --
        Q.
24
    or any of the pro tem staff, Mr. Woodcox, Mr. Yost,
25
    sought any information that would help address or
                                                          181
```

1	understand an adverse effect on college students of
2	the bill as it was then drafted?
3	A. I don't know whether I read this letter. I
4	don't think I did any took any actions in response
5	to its content, but whether the staff did I don't
6	know.
7	Q. All right. You don't recall any, though;
8	correct?
9	A. No.
10	MS. KLEIN: Okay. We're going to
11	listen to another audio transcript. This is of
12	the senate floor. And we'll mark the audio as
13	Plaintiffs' Exhibit 28.
14	(PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 28 WAS MARKED FOR
15	IDENTIFICATION.)
16	THE WITNESS: Can you tell me, was this
17	the initial bill passage or the concurrence vote?
18	MS. KLEIN: I think this is the initial
19	bill passage. So it's on June 21st.
20	And we can just go really quickly to
21	the legislative if you still have it,
22	Plaintiffs' Exhibit 13, I think, is the
23	legislative or the the bill summary page.
24	But we're talking about June 21st, and
25	it's the transcript, I think, for the afternoon.
	182

1 MR. STRACH: Objection. 2 THE WITNESS: Well, I think my 3 understanding is that HAVA doesn't allow those 4 two documents to be used, and -- unless I'm wrong 5 about federal law. 6 BY MS. KLEIN: 7 But is there any reason you can think of Q. 8 that you would not think that that is a -- that is a 9 valid proof of residence that should be added? 10 MR. STRACH: Objection. 11 THE WITNESS: Well, I see a distinction 12 between the two. I think a mortgage statement 13 would be more legitimate than a residential 14 lease. 15 0. Did you -- why? 16 Α. Because I could go on Google and Google a 17 form and fill in a lease and forge signatures, but a 18 mortgage statement would be probably more difficult 19 to -- to do that, to fabricate a document. 20 0. Do you have -- do you have any evidence that 21 that -- that process, of forging a HAVA document, had 22 ever occurred in North Carolina? 23 MR. STRACH: Objection. 24 THE WITNESS: No, but I think, you 25 know, the reason HAVA has certain documents is 186

187

```
1
              So she -- I'm going to go one by one and ask
        0.
2
    you about some of the comments she made.
3
               She mentioned there's no evidence of fraud
4
    here. Do you agree with that?
5
                  MR. STRACH: Objection.
6
                   THE WITNESS: Well, there is -- I
7
        believe there is 0% chance that there's not fraud
8
        in every election of some sort.
9
    BY MS. KLEIN:
10
              But she said there's no evidence of fraud
        0.
11
    here. So do you disagree with that?
12
                  MR. STRACH: Objection.
13
                   THE WITNESS: I mean, I think a lot of
14
        election fraud is -- it's sort of a hidden crime.
15
        It's hard to detect.
16
        Q.
              But are you aware of any evidence that
17
    there's fraud related to same-day registration
18
    specifically?
19
                  MR. STRACH: Objection.
20
                   THE WITNESS: No, but, I mean, so
21
        the -- but the issue is not just fraud.
22
        just people who -- it might not be intentional.
23
        It might just be inadvertent, and they --
24
                   Whether they believe -- they want to
25
        vote, but they shouldn't be allowed to vote
                                                          189
```

```
1
    normal timeframes.
2
              Did you have any studies to support that
        Q.
3
    understanding?
4
              No. Again, I guess I would just reiterate
5
    that, you know, it was a policy-based discussion.
6
    wasn't always based on criminal data or other data.
7
              At the end she mentions disproportionate
        0.
8
    impact on voters of color, student voters, military
    members and young voters. All of whom use same-day
10
    registration at a higher rate.
11
              Do you have any reason to disagree with that
12
    statement, about who this change in same-day
13
    registration would impact?
14
              I wouldn't take her word at face value.
15
        0.
              Do you have any reason to -- do you have any
16
    basis for disagreeing with it?
17
                   MR. STRACH: Objection.
18
                   THE WITNESS: I mean, I wouldn't --
19
        Senator Marcus says a lot of things on the floor
20
        that -- that aren't necessarily accurate.
                                                     So
21
        without seeing some data from the Board of
22
        Elections I wouldn't just take her statement at
23
        face value.
24
    BY MS. KLEIN:
25
        Q.
              At that point in the process had you
                                                          192
```

1 requested that kind of data from the State Board of 2 Elections? 3 No, and didn't think it was necessary. Α. 4 Why not? Q. 5 Just didn't. Α. 6 0. Do you think using same-day registration is 7 irresponsible? 8 I think it depends on the circumstances. Α. 9 0. What circumstances would it be 10 irresponsible? 11 If you're -- if you -- if you're a new 12 resident, and you've moved to the county -- or to 13 your -- that location within, you know, the last 14 30 days, then I think that's -- you know, that's 15 appropriate. 16 But if you've, you know, been there 17 significantly longer than that, then I think you 18 should have -- of course, our DMV, every time you go 19 to the DMV, you know, they offer you the opportunity 20 to register to vote. So --21 So you think it's irresponsible to use Q. 22 same-day registration if you've lived at your current 23 residence you're voting from for more than 30 days? 24 Α. I think when you move to a location, one of 25 the first things you do, you should get a new driver's 193

```
1
        0.
               Do you have any reason to dispute that
    that's correct?
3
               No. I think Mr. Cox probably gave accurate
4
    information.
5
        0.
               Okay. At the end of that paragraph, the
6
    last sentence, he says, "That seems likely if you
7
    consider some of the population that may need to use
8
    same-day registration the most. Military personnel,
9
    students and renters, those who move frequently."
10
               Do you have any reason to disagree that
11
    these are the populations that need to use same-day
12
    registration the most?
13
        Α.
               Where are you looking at?
14
               That's the third --
        0.
15
        Α.
               Oh.
16
               The third paragraph. The first long
        Q.
17
    paragraph, the last sentence.
18
               Do you have any reason to disagree that
19
    those are the populations that need same-day
20
    registration the most?
21
               I would agree that they're the ones that
22
    move frequently.
23
        0.
               But you would not agree that they're the
24
    ones that need to use same-day registration the most?
25
               Not necessarily renters, because they could
        Α.
                                                         196
```

```
1
    be moving within the same county.
2
               So you would disagree with this?
        0.
3
        Α.
               With parts of it.
4
        Q.
               Okay.
5
               I think military personnel and students
        Α.
6
    do -- do move from other areas.
7
               So you think military -- okay. I think I
        Q.
8
    understand.
9
               And then -- all right. Otherwise you don't
10
    recall ever reviewing any of the attachments to this?
11
        Α.
               I don't think I've seen that.
12
                   MS. KLEIN: Okay. All right. Let's go
13
        to the next document, 42, which we'll title
        Plaintiffs' Exhibit 31.
15
                   (PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 31 WAS MARKED FOR
16
        IDENTIFICATION.)
17
    BY MS. KLEIN:
18
               So this is a presentation titled,
19
    "Presentation House Oversight and Reform Committee,
20
    June 22nd, 2023."
21
               Do you recognize this presentation deck,
22
    just skimming through it?
23
        Α.
               No.
24
               To your knowledge, were you present during
25
    this presentation on June 22nd to the House Oversight
                                                         197
```

```
1
    it's possible the voter wouldn't know. Yes.
                                                    I think
    that's accurate.
3
              And what about the fact that a postcard
        0.
4
    might be marked undeliverable and come back for
5
    reasons that have nothing to do with the voter's
6
    eligibility to vote in that jurisdiction, do you
7
    disagree with that possibility?
8
               I think there -- there's chances that
    administrative errors could contribute to that.
10
                   MS. KLEIN: All right. I just have a
11
        few more documents, and then it's a good time to
12
        take another brief break, if that works.
13
                   MR. STRACH: Uh-huh.
14
                   MS. KLEIN: All right. Let's go to doc
15
        52, and we'll mark this as Plaintiffs'
16
        Exhibit 40.
17
                   (PLAINTIFFS' EXHIBIT 40 WAS MARKED FOR
18
        IDENTIFICATION.)
19
    BY MS. KLEIN:
20
        Q.
               So this is an e-mail between you and your
21
    assistant, Andy Perrigo. And if we look at the -- the
22
    first e-mail in the chain, and that is from Walter
23
    Joseph Reinke to Senator Warren Daniel, on Monday,
24
    August 28th.
25
               And this was produced by your counsel in
                                                          223
```

1 I mean, you know, there's 100 ways somebody 2 could get to -- you can do absentee -- no excuse 3 absentee mailing -- or voting. 4 So I'm going to -- I'm going to ask you a 5 series of more questions. For every one of them I 6 want you to limit it to, you know, did you develop an 7 understanding in preparation for voting for Senate 8 Bill 747 and finally approving it or as your role 9 shepherding that legislation. 10 Did you develop an understanding of -- of 11 any issues student face in the state of obtaining 12 necessary documentation to prove residence for voting? 13 Α. No. 14 What about necessary documentation to 0. 15 satisfy the photo ID -- the voter ID requirement? 16 Α. No. 17 What about -- any understanding about how 0. 18 young voters vote? What -- by what methods they vote? 19 Α. Not what percentage of types of method they 20 use. 21 What about the proportion of young voters 0. 22 among the broader electorate? 23 Α. What percentage they are? 24 Of registered voters. 0. Yes. 25 I haven't looked at the statistics. Α.

232

1	Q. What about their proportion of voter
2	turnout?
3	A. No.
4	Q. Did you develop any understanding of, you
5	know, demographic trends with young voters, as far as
6	what race they're more likely to be as compared to
7	older voters?
8	A. No.
9	Q. Did you you know, as part of your
10	legislative work on Senate Bill 747 did you develop
11	any concerns about student voting?
12	A. No.
13	Q. You know, as a general matter do you think
14	that college students should be permitted to vote in
15	their college community?
16	A. If they want to.
17	MR. STRACH: Objection.
18	Go ahead.
19	THE WITNESS: If they want to.
20	BY MS. KLEIN:
21	Q. You know, when you were working on Senate
22	Bill 747, and as part of your work, did you think that
23	election laws made it too easy for college students to
24	vote?
25	A. No. That was never anything that we
	233

1 considered.

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

22

23

24

25

- Q. Did you have -- as part of that work did you have any greater concerns about fraud within, you know, large college campuses and student voters?
 - A. I didn't personally.
 - Q. Other than what other legislators have communicated to you, are you aware of other people having those concerns?
 - A. No, uh-uh.
 - Q. Okay. You know, as part of your work in developing Senate Bill 747 do you have any kind of understanding -- did you develop any kind of understanding of whether college students are capable of appreciating the issues that their, you know, community they're living in might need addressed before the legislature?
 - A. Can you restate the question?
 - O. Sure.

As part of your work on Senate Bill 747 did you develop any understanding of whether college students are -- can appreciate the issues in their local community where they're going to school that might need to be addressed from the General Assembly?

- A. I'm not sure I understand the question.
- Q. Okay. I'll move on.

234

1 There were several of the documents that 2 we've gone through where people, both the Board of 3 Elections and others, recommended some changes to it. 4 So, you know, we -- we thought -- I guess, in the end 5 the General Assembly thought some of those made sense. 6 0. At any point did you try to shorten the 7 early voting period instead? 8 Not in this bill. I think most -- well --Α. 9 0. Why --10 I think most -- a lot of people believe that 11 it's too long. 12 Q. Why didn't you try to do that in this bill? 13 Α. It's just -- it was a policy decision. 14 Why didn't you try to require additional 0. 15 documentation from same-day registration voters, 16 instead of voting on this bill that just has a single 17 verification mailer? 18 I mean, again, it was just a policy decision 19 that was made between the house and the senate. 20 0. So can you guarantee that the new same-day 21 registration provision in Senate Bill 747 would not 22 cancel the ballot of an otherwise eligible voter? 23 MR. STRACH: Objection. 24 THE WITNESS: No. 25 BY MS. KLEIN:

1	Q. So how do you think so what's your
2	understanding of the tradeoff between, you know,
3	preventing potentially ineligible ballots versus
4	cancelling eligible ones?
5	A. Say that again, please?
6	Q. Like, what's your understanding of the
7	tradeoff between, you know, preventing potentially
8	ineligible ballots versus cancelling eligible ones in
9	this, you know, same-day registration changes?
. 0	A. I think it's just the policy decision the
.1	General Assembly made, that same-day registration is
.2	kind of a, you know, unique privilege to register late
.3	and vote late.
. 4	And that was the tradeoff that was made
.5	to because of the difficulty in or the
. 6	impossibility of getting two mailings out when
.7	somebody registers three days before the election.
. 8	Q. So I'm going to ask you a series of
9	questions. And I've asked you these questions about,
20	like, certain points in the legislative timeline, but
21	now I'm asking you for, like, overall.
22	And the point of this is just to make sure I
23	haven't missed anything or there's nothing that you
24	considered that I haven't missed. Okay?
2.5	So some of these are going to sound a bit
	254

```
1
               And I'm mostly talking to your lawyer here.
    familiar.
2
    So he doesn't give me a bunch of asked and answered.
3
    But that's what I'm getting at.
4
               So, you know, looking at the -- the record
5
    for Senate Bill 747, thinking about all of the
6
    considerations and all of the information that you had
7
    when it was being drafted, can you point me to any
8
    evidence you are aware of during that process that
    same-day registration provisions as they were before
10
    they were changed in this bill caused any noneligible
11
    voters to be able to successfully cast a ballot?
12
              Are you saying were eligible voters not able
        Α.
13
    to vote previously under the prior law?
14
               I'm saying, can you point me to any evidence
        0.
15
    that noneligible voters had successfully same-day
16
    registered and had their ballot count under the old
17
    provisions before they were modified by this bill?
18
        Α.
              No.
19
        0.
              So you don't have any examples since
20
    same-day registration, you know, became possible in
21
    North Carolina of a confirmed ineligible voter using
22
    it successfully to vote?
23
                  MR. STRACH: Objection.
24
                   Go ahead.
25
                   THE WITNESS:
                                 No.
                                                          255
```

```
1
    BY MS. KLEIN:
2
              Are you aware that the state board has
        Q.
3
    previously acknowledged that mail verifications should
4
    not be equated to voter eligibility in its prior
5
    quidance?
6
               Say that again, please?
7
               So are you aware that the state board had
        Q.
8
    previously acknowledged that, you know, mail
9
    verification should not be equated to voter
10
    eligibility in its prior guidance to county boards?
11
               I think it could be or it couldn't be,
        Α.
12
    depending on the circumstances.
13
               But are you aware that the state board had
        0.
14
    acknowledged that those two things aren't equivalent?
15
               Well, I think they probably acknowledge that
16
    it could or it couldn't indicate an ineligible voter.
17
    It might or it might not.
18
               So did you -- did you -- did you consider
19
    that fact in the legislative process for Senate Bill
20
    747, that a failed mail verification might not reflect
21
    ineligibility?
22
        Α.
              No.
23
        Q.
               Can you point me to any evidence that a
24
    single undeliverable confirmation mailing would mean
25
    that a voter did not actually live in their precinct?
                                                          256
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1 Say that again, please? Α. 2 So I'll rephrase it. 0. 3 You know, is it possible that if a same-day 4 registrant's mail verification comes back 5 undeliverable that it could be because their 6 residence, like, just does not receive mail? 7 Α. There -- I -- I would say that there could 8 be, yeah, some reasons, other than that they don't 9 live there, that the mail is returned. 10 You agree that it could come back -- the 0. 11 mail verification for a same-day registrant could come 12 back undeliverable because the US Postal Service has 13 delivery issues? 14 There could be postal error. Α. 15 0. You agree that it could be due to -- it 16 could come back undeliverable because of a clerical 17 mistake by elections staff? 18 That's possible. Α. Yes. 19 0. And you agree it could come back deliverable 20 [sic] because the mailbox is just over full and can't 21 receive any more mail? 22 That might be a reason, but the card is Α. 23 pretty small. 24 0. And is it fair to say that, except for the 25 full mailbox, all of the other three things I 257

1	
1	mentioned, the residents not receiving mail by the
2	USPS, the USPS having delivery issues or clerical
3	mistakes, those all are outside of the voter's
4	control; correct?
5	A. Yes.
6	Q. It's also possible that a voter has moved
7	within the 30 days of an election, so they have to
8	vote at their old residence, but because they've moved
9	a mail verification to their old residence might
LO	actually bounce and be undeliverable?
L1	A. I'm not sure I follow all of that, but
L2	it's I guess it's possible.
L3	Q. I'll work up to it.
L 4	So you have to vote where if you're
L5	voting in North Carolina, you agree that you have to
L 6	establish residency for at least 30 days; correct?
L7	A. Yes.
L 8	Q. So if you're a North Carolina resident, and
L9	so you move within that 30 days right before an
20	election, you technically have to vote where you used
21	to live; correct?
22	A. Are you saying you move out of state or just
23	move?
24	Q. Within the state.
25	So if you've moved, and you're not

```
1
    with the state board?
2
        Α.
               No.
3
         0.
               Did you do it yourself?
4
        Α.
               No.
5
               At any point in the legislative process for
         Q.
6
    Senate Bill 747 did you or anyone from your office
7
    communicate with educational institutions about mail
8
    deliverability issues with student addresses?
9
               I don't think so.
         Α.
10
         0.
               Are you aware if anybody else or their staff
11
    did that at the General Assembly?
12
        Α.
               I'm not aware of any.
13
         0.
               Did you look at any studies about the
14
    issues, deliverability issues, mail deliverability
15
    issues, for students?
16
         Α.
               No.
17
                      Did you look at any studies about
         0.
               Okay.
18
    mail deliverability issues generally?
19
        Α.
               No.
20
               At any point in the legislative drafting
21
    process for Senate Bill 747 did you or anyone from
22
    your office communicate with a representative of the
23
    US Postal Service about mail deliverability issues?
24
        Α.
               No.
25
         0.
               Are you aware that anybody else did that?
                                                           262
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